/63 cont./

21| (Guajiro sandals made at home) to protect their feet from the
855 hot, sandy soil. They very rarely use a hat, and at a more
advanced age, and at times it is replaced by a kidra /headband/,
[21] but without feathers, as these are a special privilege of the
adult to be used on feast days. They go about, then, generally bareheaded and exposed to the strong rays of the sun. Almost at the period of transition from childhood to puberty,
[22] Guajiro boys begin to make use of small woven woolen pouches which are attached to the belt and which serve /him/ as a purse and a depository for charms /contras/ (in the case of adults), small objects for personal use, etc.

• 21| Boys do not use necklaces. Only, and with the sense of
778 their being a protection rather than an ornament, they wear
855 when they are small jet beads on their wrists, small pieces of coconut husk or coral, a piece of wood of medicinal value to prevent grippe, or some object of magic value, things they leave off using toward their fifth or sixth year.

24| With a girl the period of complete nakedness is shorter
855 than with a boy, although there are regions in the peninsula where they may be older, owing to the poverty of the relatives, who are unable to supply them with clothes until they are past the average age for dressing. The girl is dressed in a garment which is practically a man's guayuco and which, later when an adult, she uses as an undergarment, like a pair of pants. It is a belt of white or striped cloth, doubled and placed between the legs, held at the ends to the waist by what is called a cinyu, a kind of wide, heavy belt made of glass beads or seed-glass beads of all colors. The girl's trunk remains naked until much later. During the prepuberal period, when the development of the mammary glands begins to be marked, she puts on a suit of blouse made with the technique for hammocks (horizontal threads held together by some cross threads), which is immoral, as the girl is already beginning to be interested in the art of weaving and consequently is in a stooping position much of the time, to keep her from becoming hump-backed; also for reasons of modesty and because this blouse, as

291 /50 cont./
855 it fits very tightly, facilitates the normal development of her
301 breasts. Like the boys, the girls wear some wrist ornaments,
751 magic preventatives, and it is not rare for them to wear some
855 necklace with magic objects which have been "made sacred,"
[304] to avoid bad influences; nor /is it rare/ that they already have
their ears pierced and occasionally wear earrings, although
302 this ornament is for grown women. They do not cover the head
855 and usually wear the hair short, as if it had been shaved and
291 the hair was in an advanced state of growing in again. Never-
theless, though the garb described is the usual thing, the present-
day girl frequently uses the adult robe /manta/ from the time
she is very small, especially among upper-class mestizos. /51/

III

INITIATION OF YOUNG WOMEN

881 The life of a girl approaching puberty becomes less free
in the upper classes, because her maternal relatives apparently
then take her into account and endeavor to train her in fem-
inine activities. In the lower classes the same preoccupation
is shown, but oriented in another direction, as her labor has
already been made use of very early in the family life, since,
as we have already stated, they see in her the future adult
woman for which reason they discourage her somewhat in her
comings and goings into the woods, although it is also true that
they show more concern than if they treated her as a child.
Furthermore, they start to use blouses, as we described in the
previous chapter, and she is told at a convenient time of the
biological phenomenon which is to take place in her: men-
struation. When the time comes and this shows itself, her first
reaction is to inform her mother, or in her absence, the kins-
woman with the most authority.

/82 cont./

The Guajiro woman also knows that men admire dress and so endeavors to adapt hers to their taste: robes of light, attractive colors, amply cut, considerably ornamented (acculturation), and for feast days or visiting all the collection of jewelry: bracelets, anklets, necklaces of several strings or thick chains with a pendant, numerous rings with big stones, especially tumar, jewelry she was given on finishing her seclusion by her maternal relative of the most distinction and prestige. From then onward she begins to wear them, in smaller quantities when she is at home, but the whole set when attending a feast or visiting. In Jarara a distinctive mark of high social standing is the use of earrings /orejeras may mean earplugs. -- Translator/, because in this region the women, who are not very careful in their dress, use this ornament which is an indication of their social and economic position.

The combination, then, of dress and physical appearance are two essential conditions of the attractiveness of the Guajiro woman, which determine her success in order to be bought at a good price or that her husband may not lose interest because of other marriages. The preservation of her physical attractions is a struggle which she maintains for these two reasons; also, dressing well, apart from making her attractive, is a sign of the class to which she belongs and which she must preserve at any sacrifice, as therein lies the prestige of her kin and the maintenance of their status. /63/

In addition to the sexual incentive expressed in previous paragraphs, the Guajiro seeks in his marriage an economic value, that is to say, a woman who possesses certain qualifications that will assure him a certain latitude. The payment he makes for a wife permits him to demand of her his keep and that of his children, for which reason he seeks one capable of complying with this custom by her own efforts.

The work that the woman can carry out to fulfill this economic responsibility is of a domestic nature: the making of hammocks /chinchorros and hamacas/, bags, belts, pottery,

/83 cont./

SR3 Generally, the girl's family is advised by the suitor's relatives that they will come to buy her. The man, on his part, has requested his most influential maternal uncle, or one who is considered a "cacique," to go in company with his mother and other friends to arrange the purchase of the girl of his choice. They arrive dressed in their best and receive the most generous hospitality from the girl's relatives. They hand over as a sign of the engagement the so-called "prendas /"ornaments"/," which [30] are necklaces of gold set with tuma stones (1), the value and

1. A mineral quartz used as a precious stone.

number of which depend on the economic strength of the suitor, going all the way up to ten in persons of the highest standing, especially when the man is acquiring his first wife, who as we have seen is the principal one.

If the girl's relatives see that the marriage is an advantageous one, they accept the gifts. If they do not accept them, this [5'8] indicates a definite refusal and rarely occurs, since it implies contempt which could give rise to serious differences between the groups concerned. Once the necklaces are handed over, the spokesman for the bridegroom offers to buy the girl, and the girl's maternal relative of most authority replies, fixing the price, [5'9] which generally is equal to that paid by the girl's father for her mother; often they get a higher price, which increases their prestige. They argue for a short time until they arrive at an arrangement between them as to the price and the basis of payment. Then the young man's relatives leave to tell him of the arrangement made, which he respects and accepts without making any kind of objection, and he gets ready to pay the payment agreed upon in order to obtain his wife. /84/.

SS2 SR3 Payment in cows. The number of heads of livestock that a man has shows his economic position and through this his status in the family group and in the whole community, because stock

(16 cont.)

over, the young shaman [17] was secluded for two months in her home. She dedicated this period to practicing chewing tobacco, and the act of invoking the spirit, the way of curing the sick, bringing rainfall, "shamanizing," animals, keeping pestilence away, etc. The maraca and the crown (kiara, in Guajiro) were made by her during this seclusion, although they could have been bought or ordered to be made by others. At the end of this two months' seclusion, it was essential, in order to terminate the young shaman's cycle of initiation into shamanism, to prepare ten containers of corn chicha and to invite many Indians from different sections to be present at the true graduation of the initiate. That night, while the others danced and drank, the young shaman remained practicing her arts. It is common on these occasions for the spirit to approach the aspiring shaman and say, for example: "Go look for an animal of such-and-such characteristics (it describes the desired animal minutely in all its details) and kill it. If you disobey me you will faint, have an attack, and you will never become a shaman." The young initiate then passes on the order to her relatives, who must hasten to look for the animal described by the spirit and sacrifice it. When the celebration has ended, the spirit returns to tell the young girl: "Hang up ten necklaces in your room so that I may come down and help you." (These necklaces must be made of gold beads). The aspiring shaman acquires these necklaces with the help of her relatives and friends, even on loan, and hangs them in her room so that she can "shamanize." The spirit, grateful for her ready obedience and for the offering, approaches her once again and says: "Now you will make a truly good shaman." And it warns her: "Now you may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband."

Exercising the profession. When all these rites and ceremonies preparatory to entering the way of life of the shaman have been complied with, the person chosen, as his protector spirit affirms, may then dedicate himself to that calling. The spirit itself has conferred such power. Better still, it has descended into the novice; it has entered his body to accompany him in every professional act, to communicate the arts indispensable or

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

302 291 called *guo* if made of plaited straw, and *cupeeuo* if made of wool, with large tassel (worn behind). The two can be combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front. When made entirely of feathers, it becomes *tardma*. An Indian's toilet would not be complete without [293] a *kepipeito*, a piece of leather fastened round the left wrist by a twist of wool to receive the recoil of the bow-string when shooting. Paint is 302 common to both sexes, and in excess. They assert that it saves their complexions from the sun. The last thing an Indian does, on mounting horse for the day's *journey*, is to call for the powder-box, and plentifully besprinkle his face. The powders *wapuripo* or *marut* are rotten wood; [314] *genenpui*, a black stain from a wild nut; and *parint*, very popular among the fairer sex, is the colour extracted from a leaf and mixed with fat.

291 The woman's dress is invariably, at present, made from foreign cotton, [77] and is a plain sack with a hole for the head and two others for the arms. With the wind it blows out and makes her look like a balloon. The white cotton is dyed black with divi-divi, or yellowish-brown with *mora* [314] (yellow wood), or reddish-brown with the suckers of mangroves. The Indians are exceptionally clean and nice in their dress, and, however [515] poor, keep a reserve suit for state occasions. Women alone wear the *pina* and the *sirapo*. The *pina* are like a pair of braces; long strings ● 301 of beads passing over each shoulder to cross each other on the breast and back, held in position at the waist by the *sirapo*, a sort of sash or belt made of beads likewise. Small strings a few ounces in weight are placed on the female child a few months after birth, and gradually increased, according to the strength of the child and the purse of the parents. *Pinas* are made with any beads except black, a red variety with white eye (*lawkia*) preferred, and weigh from 2 to 10 lbs. With *sirapos* any coloured bead will do, *pinas* or black ones the rule, and they weigh from 1 to 10 lbs. A married woman may wear the *pina* until [344] her first confinement, when it is laid aside. Poor Indians who cannot afford beads for the *pina* make it of cotton dyed black and beaded. Among the many necklaces, *tamas* are the most valuable. These curious [72] perforated stones are only found in the graves of prehistoric race, both in the peninsula itself and the Sierra Nevada. There are many varieties. The round ones varying in size from a large marble to a pea are *tlaus* (a name generalised by the Spaniards); those in shape of small cheese-barrels are *enetuvat*; the pear-shaped, according as they are long or dumpy, *pariapa*, and *paririapa*; the bugle is *parauria*, &c. Mineralogically they are bits of red jasper, cornelian, and reddish marbleyx. Their value depends upon the intensity of red and size. A large one at [435] present is worth a head of cattle; a necklace has from 15 to 30, varying in size. Bracelets are as varied and in as much profusion as necklaces; they are called *kipuna*, from *akepo*, the hand. On the foot they also wear strings of cornelians and beads. They have two names, the aristocratic *enekkamalu* and the common *pauriksa*.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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●301
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Above left: *Youth playing a flute*

Above right: *Little girl with beads*

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492

Right: *Riders*

[Facing p. 64]

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

142
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Majayura, the virgin confined in order to be prepared for marriage. Contrary to the rules, she was allowed out for a moment to be photographed

Old woman spinning

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Children are not undernourished in Macuira

[Facing p. 65]

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to with the years, and other strings of beads were put round their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads. All who could, wore sandals with pompoms to protect their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines. Only the women took real pains about painting themselves. It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all over with black or red paint. This was not done for the sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sunburn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent. If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has secret significance. The women showed my wife red and brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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[Facing p. 80]

7:Bolinder 2-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Gonjire SC13

A Gonjire man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold beads round her neck and ankles

After burial: women weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

[Facing p. 112]

Bolander T-5 (1926, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

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Sol

Antonio Manuel, who represents the Indians at Congress in Caracas

[Facing p. 184]

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

When mi-
grating from one locality to another the *Goajiro* generally dismantle their houses and take them along, piling the poles and thatch on the backs of burros. Sometimes, however, they leave them for their own or someone else's use in the future.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Goajiro dress has changed little since the time of Nicolás de la Rosa (18th century). Men normally wear only a breechcloth, a necklace, and a head band with feather attached (pl. 72, *top*); but when traveling, paying visits, or receiving company they wear a large loincloth with many folds, a mantle (nowadays of bright colors), and an immense sash, in which they carry their arrows. A knitted string bag is hung from the waistband. In towns trousers and shirts are worn. The women wear a cotton dress, sometimes made like a simple sack with holes cut for the head and arms. The puna—long strings of beads passing over both shoulders, crossing each other on the breast and back and held in place by a sash or belt of beads (the sirapo)—is placed on a female child a few months after birth and gradually augmented according to the parents' wealth and the child's age. Black beads are generally used for the sirapo, colored ones for the puna. A married woman wears the puna until her first confinement. After her seclusion at puberty, a robe, sometimes containing 8 or 10 yards of embroidered material, is also worn by a *Goajiro* woman, but the loosely folded cloth which was her sole covering before puberty is still worn beneath it. Women, unlike men, are modest and avoid being seen naked.

Some young girls have as many as 100 turns of beads around their waists, as well as many around their wrists and ankles. Red coral is preferred, but most beads are made from seeds or coconut shell and are cut out by means of a hollow metal reamer twirled rapidly between the palms. The perforated shell may then be used as a colander. Glass and porcelain beads and earrings are also worn. The most prized ornaments are the tumas—polished and perforated stone ornaments found in some of the old graves. On dress occasions necklaces of beads and gold ornaments are worn. These, found in *Tairona* graves, are fashioned in the form of tiny animals, frogs, turtles, etc.

The men, except the medicine men, wear their hair short, kept back by a ring or crown made of plaited straw, or of wool with a tassel behind. Often the two are combined and adorned with a couple of feathers in front; or the whole may be made of feathers. For protection against mosquitos and sun both sexes paint their skin with powders made from rotten wood, a black stain made from a wild nut, and another color extracted from leaves and mixed with fat. After puberty women cut their hair short, keeping the shorn tresses in a bag hung from the roof; henceforth they never let it grow beyond the neck. They make designs on